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572 the horizon. There is no chanting as in the villages of the Xingu, no whistling, no marching to the river for an early bath. There is no conversation, no motion. After a while a dog may sit up and watch the world as silently as his master. More and more of the recumbent figures sit up; some old man becomes busily engaged in making string; a woman gives suck to a baby; others rise, and, walking with heads [372] high, chests thrust forward, go toward the bushes, to reappear soon with armfuls of wood and quickly start fires with their laurelwood fire drills. Soon everyone is sitting up, and the cheesecloth tents disappear. A few women huddle around the fires.

It is only when the wind resumes its violent blowing that the camp is stirred into activity. The chilliness of the night is forgotten, reverential thoughts are discarded. The vulgar stomach, however, is remembered. 512 Preparations are made to take care of its daily needs. 225 Bows and arrows are examined. A harpoon arrow for turtles and 462 crocodiles, a fish arrow, a gourd, and if the hunter possesses one, a knife, comprise the equipment. Then the men go to their canoes two by two, though a young boy may be taken along to make three. He too must learn to satisfy the daily craving of his inner machinery. The hunters paddle away upstream and disappear around the bend of the river.

512 The women prepare for their own voyages. Sometimes they ac- 222 company the men, sometimes they go alone in a canoe or go inland. 462 They carry baskets on their backs suspended from the forehead by a strap. Each woman carries a digging stick. Little girls accompany them, with their little baskets and their own digging sticks, in imitation of the grown-ups. Some women carry babies astride the hip, 291 feeding at the large full breasts. Naked but for a loin covering, with hair falling down their backs, they seem to fit the wild landscape. Some may wear a camisole, but that is only a thin veil, and their bodies are seen underneath. The loin covering is tied at the back, and, as they walk with chests thrown forward and high, resembles a huge tail rolled under the camisole. Their smooth-skinned ape appearance is graceful but amusing; the naked ones fit the picture better.

512 At camp are left only the old people and some young ones who 461 are too lazy to go out or have been hunting hard and need a rest. They are soon busy fixing bows and arrows, making string, carving ornaments, weaving basketry, taking care of very young children. There is very little talking and no fussing. They almost ignore each other. Those who stay at home will wait patiently for their dinner. They will watch the sun climb the heavens, and they will move from one side of the branches to the other to keep in the shade. Beaten by the wind which by noon blows a gale, bombarded by

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not allowed to the neighboring peoples, such as the Otomacos or the Achaguas. The social and linguistic bonds seem to be strong enough to cause the Yaruros to recognize themselves as a distinct people.

FOODS

In the llanos food is not plentiful except in and along the rivers; but the foraging activities of the Yaruros are restricted to the banks of the Capanaparo and Sinaruco Rivers for another reason. The hunting of land animals has practically stopped for fear that they will be accused by the ranchers of killing cattle. In recent years the activities of the crocodile hunters have ruthlessly destroyed the game, and since such hunters live on the country they have consumed a portion of the available quantity of game on which the Yaruros depended for a livelihood.

In the dry season game is concentrated along the rivers and the water holes. It is considerably easier to hunt it then than in the rainy season, when it is dispersed over the plains. The turtle, which is found in great quantities in the waters of the Orinoco and its tributaries, suffers a yearly mass hunt and destruction which has its effect on the food supply of the Yaruros. It has been discovered that the turtle fat and eggs will produce a fine grade of oil which sells for a high price. The result is that the breeding grounds of the turtles become yearly a scene of great activity and destruction. No one knows how many thousands of turtles and turtle eggs are gathered and converted into this oil late in the month of April.

The meat staple of the Yaruros is the *Crocodilus babu*, a small crocodile which grows to about 6 feet long. This animal is hunted daily and eaten in its entirety. Its meat is esteemed above that of any other animal. On the other hand, the cayman, sought for its hide, is not hunted as a rule by the Yaruros. Perhaps this meat is not as savory as that of the babu, but the Yaruros give the reason that the large crocodile represents a race of mankind to which they are related. So that although occasionally it may be hunted for the price that its hide may bring, it is never eaten and never hunted consistently.

Next to the crocodile, turtles, including the matamata and tortoise, are to be found broiling over the fires in every Yaruro camp, and if they are not broiling they can be seen in shallow pools of water with their forelegs tied to their hindlegs. In this way they can keep alive but cannot walk away. The armadillo is seldom obtained and other meats appear occasionally on the diet of the Yaruros. Fishing is resorted to when neither crocodiles nor turtles are obtainable. The caribe, which is the piranha of Brazil, is esteemed but little. The tonino, which can be seen gracefully playing in the water or can be heard snorting in the rivers at night, is never hunted. It also is

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thought to be related to the race of mankind. On the other hand, the manatee is hunted occasionally. Birds are hunted but seldom, but the meat of the iguana is prized. This animal is not found in great quantities, however, in the open plains.

The vegetable diet is somewhat more plentiful and varied. There are no restrictions or taboos on what can be eaten. In the dry season it is the potato-like changuango, which is gathered by the women and which is to be seen broiling over the fires at all times, and which is the only food which the Yaruros are able to keep for a few days by burying it in the sand. In the rainy season it is the chigua seed and the barbaco which form the basic foods. The following list includes most of the foods eaten by the Yaruros:

DRY SEASON

Eggs.—Terracai (small water turtle) (mostly in February), turtle (March, April), galapago (tortoise—December), crocodile (cayman—February), babu (December).

Meats.—Terracai, turtle, galapago, crocodile (babu), deer, chiguire (capibara), birds, iguana.

Vegetables.—Changuango (root found in the savanna), barbaco (root found in the forest, mostly in May), guapo (a root found in the forest), wild yam (found in the savanna and the forests), fruit of the macanilla palm, honey, hearts of palm (in April).

DRY AND RAINY SEASON

Fish.—(Local Spanish names) tapuara, caribe, toporo, tachiama, palumeta, pavon, cajani, temblador (electric eel).

RAINY SEASON

Meats.—Terracai, turtle, galapago, crocodile (babu), deer, chiguire, birds, iguana.

Vegetables.—Fruit of the moriche, chigua, barbaco.

PROPERTY

The Yaruros do not have much personal property. Nevertheless, what each person possesses is respected scrupulously. This attitude is especially in evidence when, for instance, a visitor attempts to purchase such a thing as a pot. In my case I was forced to ask the men. In spite of any price that I might offer they never allowed themselves to give any kind of an answer to my offer. Instead they offered the explanation that the pots were the property of the women and, therefore, they had to be asked if they wished to sell them. My own property I left in camp often without anyone to watch over it, but never did I miss even a sheet of paper.

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The sense of strict inviolability of personal rights carries over to personal services. Never did a husband order his wife to do anything outside of her proper domain. While I lived with them, in spite of the excellent care they gave me, even to the point of anticipating my wishes in a great many cases, never did a husband request his wife to prepare food for me. He asked her if she would, acting merely as my messenger. No closer relationship can exist than between maternal uncle and nephew, yet even he does not feel free to ask any service of his nephew, nor to take the latter's personal property.

DIVISION OF LABOR

Sexual dichotomy in economic activities is clearly defined. In a general way, it may be said that the rougher, harder, and more dangerous work belongs in the province of male activity and that there is no task which calls for strength or danger that properly belongs in the realm of woman's activity. Should any woman be engaged in a hard or dangerous piece of work and a man happens to be present there is a tacit assumption of the task by the latter. Hunting and fishing and presumably the act of fighting in war are man's tasks. The gathering of roots, fruits, seed, and their preparation belongs to the women. It is interesting to note that the gathering of honey, which entails some risk, is done by the men. The making of canoes, the making of implements, of hammocks, the activities in making camp are all in man's domain. The preparation of food and the making of pottery and basketry are woman's tasks.

HUNTING AND FISHING

Hunting and fishing are male occupations exclusively. As soon as the young boy is able to toddle about he is made to play with bow and arrow and learns to make these indispensable tools. It is a common sight to see little boys who are too young to be taken along by the men on hunting expeditions playing at the game of hunting; and when a man is in camp busily preparing his hunting equipment his young son is by his side working industriously on miniature bows and arrows.

The equipment of the hunter is simple. Bow, arrow, and canoe are indispensable. A Yaruro does not like to roam on land, but there is no need for him to do so since he can get his game in the watercourses or along their banks. So he sets off in the early morning, generally accompanied by his hunting companion, to look for crocodile (*Crocodilus babu*). He will hunt for other forms of life only reluctantly, having a special liking for crocodile meat.

Because of the shyness of crocodile the hunter is most often forced to shoot at it from a distance. Since an arrow will seldom kill one

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225 411 501 of the beasts it is necessary to shoot it with a barbed arrow whose head becomes detached from the shaft but remains attached to the latter by a string. The babu will make for deep water and submerge, but the shaft will float on top, and the beast is drawn to the surface by its means, to be dispatched by another arrow or by a knife blow.

The technique for hunting turtles is similar but its execution is more difficult, due to the smaller size of the turtle. These generally can be seen floating on the water with their heads held erect above the surface.

226 Fishing is done mostly with bow and arrow. The hunter stands up on the prow of the canoe which is guided into the proper position by his companion paddling in the stern. When the hunter is almost over the fish he shoots his arrow some inches in front so as to allow for the deflection caused by the water.

224 Deer is seldom hunted since the Yaruro shun the land for fear that they may be accused of killing cattle. Unless the deer is caught on the river bank in the early morning or in the evening it is stalked. The hunter fixes his gaze on the deer and moves forward a few feet at a time, stopping stock still at the slightest sign of alarm on the part of the deer. In this way he can approach to within arrow range. [292] This technique takes great patience and time. The hunter may camouflage himself by painting his torso white and pasting feathers on it. He wears a mask in imitation of the jivaro stork, which consists of a black head and beak and a red collar around the neck. He may use the beak of the jivaro or substitute his bow for it. Mimicking the motions of the jivaro, he approaches the deer. When he is close enough he waits for the deer to look up, when he transfixes it [411] with an arrow. The arrow used is so heavy that it cannot be launched from afar.

222 In addition to these, the armadillo, the tortoise, and the chiguire are hunted. The hunter does not fail to gather turtle eggs, crocodile eggs, and honey as he roams along the river banks.

FOOD GATHERING

222 It is the task of the women to gather supplementary food. They organize their own expeditions. Armed with digging stick and baskets and accompanied by the children, they roam the plains, digging up the changuango, the barbaco, and the chigua.

MATERIAL CULTURE

511 In material culture the Yaruros are poverty stricken. Their nomadic existence limits their possessions to what they can carry with them in their canoes, which is very little. The whole range of objects made or possessed by the Yaruros consists of canoe, paddles,

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411 226 237 is inserted into the reed shaft (fig. 19, *a*, *f*)[1]. The barb on the iron point is obviously more effective than on the bone point.

225 For crocodiles the arrow point is always of iron, barbed and detachable. Its length is considerably less than the other, measuring about 4 feet or less. A string about 30 feet long is attached to the point and wrapped tightly around the shaft. When the point strikes the animal the string becomes unwound and if the animal dives into the water the hunter can trace it by the shaft floating on the surface. He then proceeds to pull up the animal.

411 224 For deer and chiguire, land animals, a broad iron blade is used for the point, so heavy that one would suppose it would be a lance head. This is inserted into the shaft and at the point of insertion a crosspiece is fashioned to the shaft so that the point cannot penetrate more than 4 or 5 inches. The reason for this is that the Yaruro is afraid to lose his arrow should he fail to kill the animal and it were to run away. A barbless arrow will tend to fall out of the wound if the animal races away and then the hunter can recover it.

411 223 For birds, the bone-pointed arrows are used and sometimes a special arrow consisting of a shaft with a wooden knob. However, since birds are hunted so seldom there is very little use for special arrows.

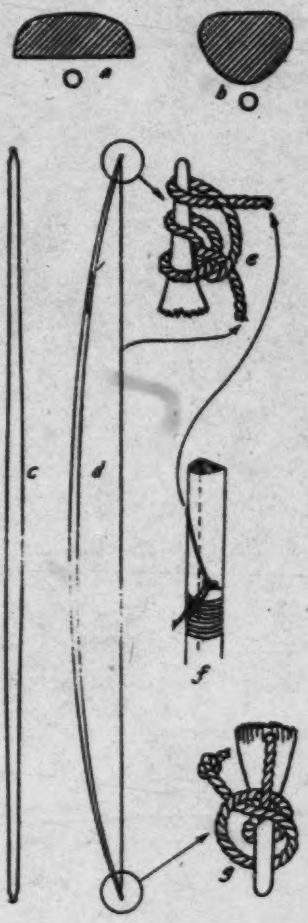

FIGURE 17. — Yaruro bows. *a*, *b*, Cross sections of bows. Circles represent original shape of wood, measuring about 7 cm before it is cut down to shape "*a*" and "*b*." *c*, *d*. Yaruro bow. One specimen measured 195 cm in length, 3.2 cm wide in cross section, 2 cm in thickness. *e*, *f*, *g*, Detail of knots on bow string.

411 326 412 The iron points are well made. Each man tries to possess himself of a stone and an iron hammer, but actually in the entire group that I saw, there were only two stones and one hammer. Iron is hard to obtain, and any scrap which comes into their possession is employed either as a knife or an arrow point. The iron is shaped both by hammering and by filing. I saw only one file in the group. At best, it must cause them a great deal of labor to fashion any of these points.

[1][see category 116, 207 --- Analyst]

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Perhaps that is one reason why no man had in his possession more than three or four arrows—for the most part he had only one of the iron tip kind.

FISHHOOKS.—Most of the fishing is done with bow and arrow, but hooks are known to the Yaruros, and when they are able to obtain strong fine string they employ these hooks. Hooks are not only em-

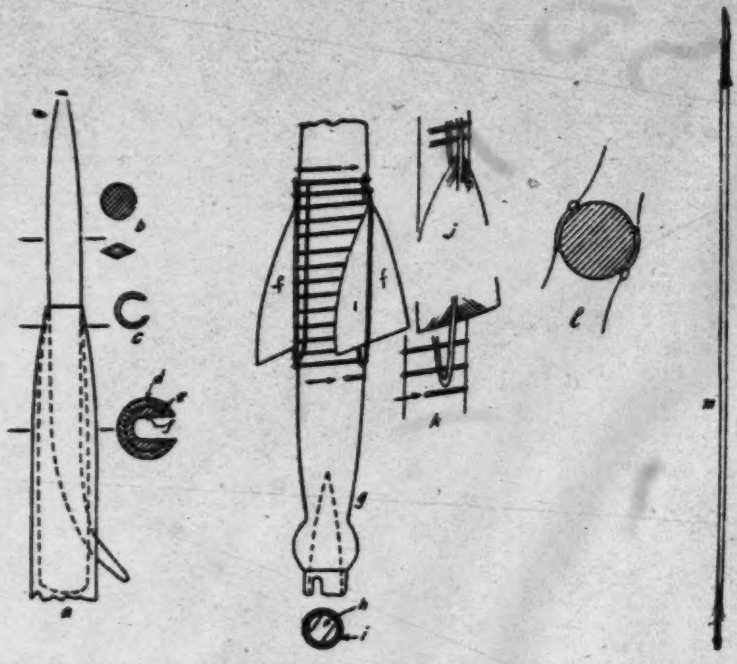

FIGURE 18.—*a*, Bone or iron point attached to shaft. *b*, Cross sections of points; round cross section is of the bone point; diamond-shaped cross section is of the iron point. *c*, Cross section of wax and twine binding. *d*, Cross section of reed shaft. *e*, Cross section of brasil wood to which point is actually fastened. *f*, Feathers. *g*, Butt end of arrow. *h*, Wooden plug nock. *i*, Reed shaft. *j*, *k*, *l*, Method of fastening feather to the arrow. *m*, Fish arrow.

ployed for fish, but even for the chiguire, and sometimes for the crocodiles. The simplest kind is that shown in figure 20, *c*, which may consist of bone or wood. It measures about 6 inches in length. A stronger point of iron or hard wood is used for the manatee. This type is shown in figure 20, *d*. For crocodiles, generally a hard stick sharpened at both ends and baited with a large piece of meat is used. The crocodiles will swallow the stick and, if it is attached to a thick wire, it makes an excellent means of capturing these beasts.

DIGGING STICKS.—Next to the bows and arrows, the most important implement of the Yaruro is the digging stick, which will consist of a wooden handle from 3 to 4 feet long slipped into the handle of an

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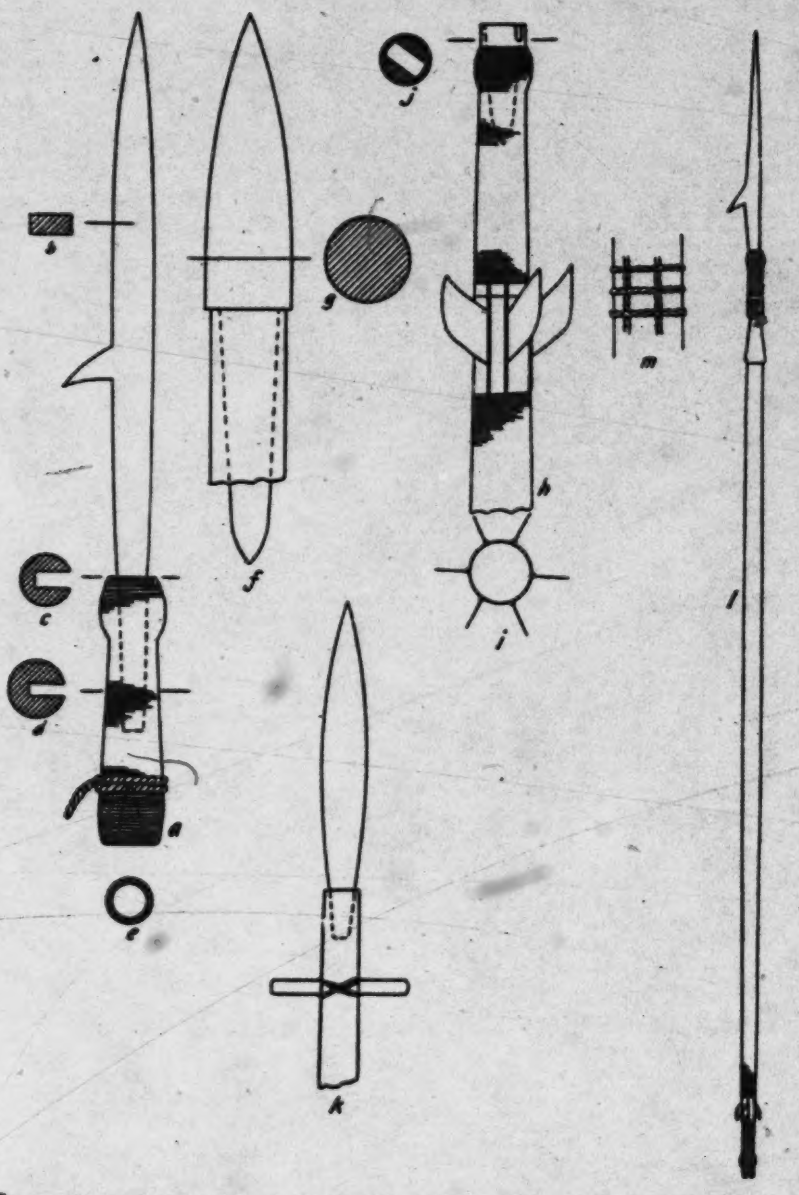

FIGURE 19.—a, Arrow point. b, Cross section of iron point. c, d, e, Cross sections. f, Details of point and wooden plug which is thrust into the reed shaft. g, Cross section. h, Method of fastening feathers to shaft. i, j, m, Details of h. k, Deer arrow, showing crosspiece. l, Harpoon type of arrow.